ARKANSAS FAITH

"The Court has shed the robes of Judicial Dignity and donned the caps and gowns of Sociology Professors"

—REP. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
Mississippi

Fort McClellan Race-Mixing Scandal

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35¢

INTERPOSITION OR NULLIFICATION

By M. M. McGowan

Q. What is the meaning of Interposition or Nullification?

A. It means interposing or placing the Sovereignty of the State against that of the Federal Government; a matter of contested sovereignty; and a refusal to follow the Federal directive, whether it be an act of the Congress, judgment of the Supreme Court, or order of the Chief Executive until the question of who is right is settled by Constitutional processes.

An example of Interposition or Nullification is found in a sentence like this: "I, (the State) deny that you (the Federal Government) have the right to do this, because the right to do so was never conferred on you by the Constitution, but was retained as one of the sovereign rights of the States when the union was formed, and I (the State) will not follow the directive or order until the question is settled by Constitutional processes as to who is right."

Q. There has been some confusion about the words "Interposition" and "Nullification". Do they mean the same things?

A. Yes. It would be an empty gesture to say "we never gave you this authority", without following up with "we will not follow your directive or order until it is settled by Constitutional processes who is right." Just to lamely say "We never gave you this authority, it belongs to us", would be meaningless, or a mere petition or memorial to Congress. The words are considered as one and the same thing, and in fact are one and the same thing.

Q. What is a memorial or petition to Congress?

A. A petition or memorial to Congress is a mere petition asking Congress to do or not to do a thing. The mail bags going to Washington are full of them. They are usually disregarded. A memorial or petition to Congress has no relation whatsoever to Interposition or Nullification.

Q. Is it necessary to use the word "Nullification" to void an act of the General or Federal Government by this means?

A. It certainly is not. Sincere and responsible men should never quibble over words, when other words may be used that have exactly the same meaning. Such words as "illegal and of no force and effect", or "unconstitutional and not to be obeyed", would have the same effect. In fact even the word "interposition" was not too much used in the early days. The words "State-Veto" were used by John C. Calhoun and others in South Carolina in the early 1830's. Frankly, the word "Interposition, as a proper noun, seems to have come into use as a designation of the entire process late in 1955, some two or three months ago. True, Calhoun and Jefferson used the noun "interposition" but merely as a common noun.

Q. What relation does the Fifth Article of the Constitution have to Interposition or Nullification?

A. None, except as a vehicle to settle the question raised when an interposition is made, that is to settle the question as to who is right about the matter. The Fifth Article of the Constitution simply provides means of amending the Constitution, and this is sometimes (but not always) necessary to settle the question as to who is right. For instance when, in 1859, the State of Wisconsin nullified the Fugitive Slave Act and also the Dred Scott Decision of the Supreme Court, nothing was done; the Federal Government just called it quits, and let it go at that. On the other hand, when, in 1792, the State of Georgia nullified a decree of the Federal courts granting a judgment against Georgia at the suit of an individual suitor, the Congress got busy and enacted the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution saying no individual could sue a state.

The Fifth Article of the Constitution provides two methods of amending the Constitution: (1) by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives proposing an amendment which will become effective when ratified by three fourths of the states, or (2) by two thirds of the States petitioning Congress to submit amendments upon which event Congress shall cause to be assembled in the states conventions to submit the amendments and these shall become effective when ratified by three fourths of the States.

Q. What is meant by state sovereignty?

A. It means that in the beginning the several states were free, independent and sovereign states. This can best be demonstrated by examining the first sentence of the treaty of peace signed by Great Britain and the Colonies after the Revolutionary War, which reads as follows: "His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz., New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia to be free, sovereign, and independent States." So the fact that we started as free, independent and sovereign states cannot be denied.

Q. What happened to the sovereignty of the states, and how can the Federal Goverament be sovereign and the states composing it at the same time be sovereign?

A. The states granted sufficient of their sovereignty to found a "more perfect Union" (The Articles of Confederation of 1781 being imperfect) and retained certain others to themselves. The Tenth Amendment settles this question. It is as follows: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people". Not one of the colonies would have adopted the Constitution unless the Tenth Amendment had been incorporated therein. It was a part of the Bill of Rights when the Constitution was adopted. It was a peculiar work of genius wrought by the great statesmen of the time.

Q. What is meant by settling the question as to who is right by Constitutional processes?

A. It was thought by Jefferson and Madison that dignity and right would require that when a State felt its sovereignty had been invaded by the Federal Government, the state itself should not be the sole judge of the matter, but that an appeal should be made to Congress to "arrest the progress of the evil" and that the several sister states be invited to join in said appeal. Thus the appeal is to the Congress with the sister states invited to join therein, and the appeal is that the "question of contested sovereignty" be settled by processes set in motion by Congress under the Constitution.

Q. Is Interposition or Nullification illegal?

A. No. No one can reach the conclusion that it is illegal without at first admitting that the States have surrendered their total sovereignty to the Federal Government. By the plainest sense and logic, if they have not surrendered their total sovereignty to the Federal Government, they have the right to raise the question for settlement. Only to those who claim such a surrender has been made is it or can it be illegal.

It would be a foolish thing indeed to say that the states had sovereign rights, but could not assert them. It would be a monstrous thing to say the Supreme Court could order a person hanged for criticising the President or other federal officer. (The Alien and Sedition Laws merely provided one could be sent to prison for a long term for just that! — and the Constitution was only nine years old then).

Of course there are those who make this contention. Many of them are honest people who have never stopped to think. And of course we have the left wing socialist groups who will of necessity have to have it declared illegal or go out of business. Until state sovereignty and local government are destroyed, they can never accomplish their purpose.

Q. Under what circumstances should Interposition or Nullification be invoked?

A. Certainly under none other than the most grave and solemn circumstances. It should be only upon the last resort to save the life and sovereignty of the state. There should be danger to the state that is not only imminent and perilous, but as Jefferson and Madison put it "palpable and dangerous". To invoke it under capricious or even ordinary serious circumstances would only bring upon a state the well deserved rebuke of the sister states.

Q. Would Interposition or Nullification bring violence or disorder within the state?

A. Certainly not. It would in the matter now threatening us insure peace and good order.

Q. Would it result in Federal troops being sent into our State?

A. Certainly not. Sending troops into a quiet and tranquil community would be no more than a farce or comic opera.

Q. What does the army have to do with enforcing court orders?

A. Not a thing in the world.

Q. Just how will Interposition or Nullification work?

A. It will work perfectly by the people standing solidly together and placing their cause upon their own sovereignty and that of their states. It is to be remembered that the sovereignty not delegated to the Federal Government was retained "to the States respectively or to the People".

No law can be enforced that is repugnant to ALL of the people and shocking to their inherent sensibilities.

Sir Edmund Burke, debating in parliament the revolt of the American colonies, threw up his hands and said in despair: "I would not know how to write an indictment against an entire people!" If we had not stood together in 1776, we would still be an English colony.

Q. It has been said that when a State interposes its sovereignty against that of the Federal Government, it calls for a settlement of the controversy by "Constitutional Processes", and invites the sister states to join in the petition. Now, pursue that further and tell just exactly how the matter has been or may be carried to a conclusion?

A. In the light of actual experience and history, a wide variety of courses may be taken, with different conclusions reached.

When Georgia interposed in 1792 (the Constitution then being only three or four years old) over an individual sueing the State of Georgia in a Federal court, the Congress rather hastily submitted an amendment to the Constitution (the 11th) which was approved by three fourths of the states, vindicating Georgia's position.

When South Carolina interposed in 1832, on the question of the tariff laws, Congress promptly passed an act relieving the State of the oppressive burden of the tariff complained of. In case of the other acts of interposition, you might say that nothing was done; the states merely had their way about the matter.

However, if Congress refused to grant the relief by legislative act, and the Federal Government refused to give up and persisted in enforcing the act or court decision, then it must be admitted that the truly classical concept of interposition as conceived by Jefferson and Madison might come into play, which was that Congress at the address of the complaining states and such of the sister states as elected to join, would submit an amendment under Article V of the Constitution, and submit it to the people, the amendment embracing the disputed question, and let the result abide the action of three fourths of the States, either by affirmative or negative action.

Q. If three fourths of the states in this instance should ratify an amendment which affirmatively granted to the Federal Government the right to take over the education and nurture of our children and mix members of the white and negro races in the schools, would the states be bound thereby?

A. According to the theoretical concept of the principle, they would be.

Q. Would Mississippi accept it upon such a result?

A. The state officials would attempt to, but the entire people would have to be reckoned with. That crisis would have to be handled if and when it arose.

Q. Is there any legal means, other than Interposition to avoid the effect of the School decisions of the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954?

A. It is quite apparent that there is not. Unless it exceeds the powers granted the Federal Government to make such decision, then it is legal. There is no other avenue of attack that can be made upon it except upon this ground. All that would be left is open defiance or resistance.

Q. What if the Congress refused to submit an amendment which would settle the controversy?

A. They could not be compelled to do it unless at the petition of Thirty Two of the States. This is the alternative method provided for in Article V of the Constitution. The first method is, as said before, two thirds of the members of Congress may submit an amendment upon their own initiative, which will be ratified when approved by Three Fourths of the States; or Two Thirds of the States may petition Congress to submit amendments, and if it does so, these will likewise become valid when ratified by Three Fourths of the States.

Q. What if Congress refused to submit the amendment and also two thirds of the states never petitioned them to do so? How would that effect the Interposition?

A. It is quite clear that the Interposition would stand. It should be readily conceded that the states of this union, none of them, would interpose upon only the gravest and most solemn circumstances.

Q. But this is dealing here with a judgment of the Supreme Court. Can Interposition be resorted to against that?

A. Certainly. It is true that people are much more reluctant to challenge the courts than the Congress or Chief Executive. Reverence for courts of law and justice is perhaps the finest of all our traits. However, tyranny must be resisted from whatever source it might come.

The Supreme Court is a creature of the Constitution; the Constitution in turn is a creature of the States. It is Thomas Jefferson who is credited with saying that the germ of the dissolution of the Republic lies in the judiciary or Supreme Court.

Q. Now who, in the very last analysis, is to be the judge in a case of contested sovereignty between the Federal Government and a State or group of States?

A. That is a vital question indeed, and actually goes to the very heart of the matter. It became a very heated question less than ten years after the Constitution was adopted.

Jefferson and Madison, always clearly logical, reasoned thus: The sovereign states entered into a "Compact" as they called it: that was the Constitution itself; the states granted a part of their sovereignty to the general government and retained a part; that was the dual sovereignty system, truly a work of genius, and as they believed, and rightly so, the only and sole guarantee of liberty and freedom. Now, when a dispute came up as to who should exercise that phase of sovereignty, who was to be the judge? Jefferson, who wrote the first Kentucky Resolution of Interposition expressed it in these words:

"That the government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

So these great statesmen argued that the Constitution or "Compact" by its plain meaning prohibited Congress from passing the objectionable portions of the Alien and Sedition Laws, but if there was any doubt about its meaning, then the sovereign states who formed the Compact would be the ones to decide, not the Congress or the Supreme Court. There was no "common judge" provided for in specific words, so reason and principle, aided by the purest of logic, would dictate that the creature could not dictate to the creator. Hence the appeal to the States.

Q. It has been said that Interposition is the only truly legal means by which segregation may be preserved. Elaborate on this.

A. Always turning first to common sense and plain logic, we are confronted with this proposition: The Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 is legal unless the court did not have the right to render it; that is, in lawyers' terms, it did not have jurisdiction of the subject matter. By logical processes and in regular sequence, this brings us to the question of whether or not the States, in forming the union, ever granted to the Federal Government the right to take over the education and nurture of their youth. All of the southern and many of the northern states say that they did not. The Federal government seems to assert that they did. This brings up the essential question involved in interposition—a case of contested sovereignty. Whose sovereign right is it to control the education and nurture of the youth of the land—the States or the Federal Government?

Q. Several of the states have passed legislative acts, and constitutional amendments, seeking to provide means of preserving segregation. Comment on the efficiency of these.

A. Several of the states have proposed and passed legislative acts, the intent and purpose of which is to avoid the consequences of the school decisions. Several of the states have enacted constitutional amendments providing varying powers, such as the power to abolish public schools, the power to subsidize pupils in private schools, or public schools rented out to private individuals.

The defect in all of these maneuvers is that they, tacitly at least, admit the validity of the school decisions, and seek means and methods to evade or avoid them. We should keep in mind that the same Supreme Court that enacted the school decisions will almost surely decree that Negroes be admitted to private schools.

Q. What about the situation at Hoxie, Arkansas?

A. At Hoxie, Arkansas, a Federal Court has already issued a temporary injunction against the residents of the community, enjoining them from "boycotting" the integrated school there. This means that if they failed or refused to send their children to the integrated school set up there, or attempted to set up a private school, they would be subject to fine and imprisonment. However, this court injunction has not been read by the writer, and comment upon its contents is with reservations, but the information comes direct from the attorney handling the case for the citizens of the Hoxie community.

Q. Upon whom will the burden of enforcing the school decisions in this state fall, if they are accepted as legal?

A. Just as much on the officers and courts of this state as on the Federal authorities. There is nothing peculiarly Federal about the jurisdiction. The duty would fall just as much on our court as the Federal.

Q. In the event no Interposition or Nullification resolution is passed, in what position will this leave the executive and judicial officers of this State?

A. It would leave them in a very bad position indeed. They should know exactly upon what legal ground they stand.

Q. Is there any higher ground upon which they could stand than the asserted sovereignty of their state?

A. No. They would be in company of people like Jefferson and Madison, and that is concededly good company.

Q. Reverting to the historical side of the question once again, what instance of Interposition or Nullification was based upon the least right, so far as the State making the complaint was concerned?

A. Undoubtedly, the Nullification of the Tariff Act by South Carolina in 1832. This Nullification stood upon practically no right because the right to control interstate and foreign commerce had been specifically granted to the Federal or general government. Paragraph 3 of Article I, Sec. VIII, of the Constitution, the Article which specifically names the powers conferred upon the Federal Government, states: "To regulate

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Memphis Pro-Southerners Hear Johnson

UNITY ON REGIONAL AND LOCAL LEVELS URGED BY SPEAKERS

Some 2,500 Memphians gathered at Ellis Auditorium in Memphis on March 4 to hear speakers from Arkansas and Alabama call for a unified effort throughout the South to combat the various movements designed to miongrelize the Southland.

Senator Jim Johnson, director of the White Citizens Council of Arkansas and the Arkansas representative on the South-wide Federation For Constitutional Government, urged the Tennessee people to get behind the rising tide of Southern opposition to attempts by the U. S. Supreme Court to force integration upon the Southern people.

Johnson lashed out at the new movement backed by so-called "moderates".

"These moderates", Johnson declared, "are just as much for integration as the NAACP. The only difference is that the moderates want to spoon-feed your integration a little bit at a time".

The Arkansas pro-segregation leader also urged the Memphis group to "join hands and hearts with the rest of the South" and to eliminate any dissention among themselves.

"The strength of the South," Johnson said, "lies in the overwhelming unity of the people who have joined hands in the greatest struggle to save a civilization in all history".

Senator Johnson went on to outline the motives behind the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation. He said the Court's decisions were "politically motivated." To prove his point, Johnson quoted Vice President Richard Nixon who said the decisions were made "by a great Republican Chief Justice."

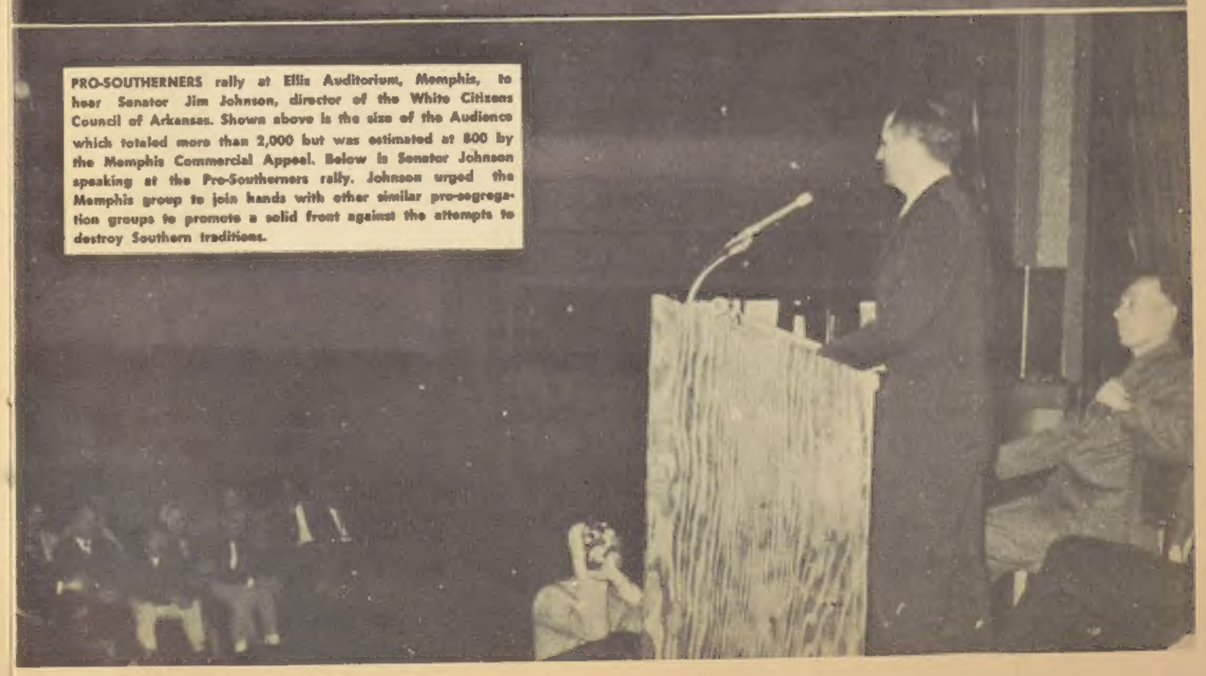
(Chief Justice Earl Warren rendered the decisions shortly after he was appointed to the bench by President Eisenhower. Warren has long been a contender for the Republican nomination as president and served several terms as a Republican governor of California.)

Johnson also explained how minorities have played one party against the other in order to gain control of our National Government.

The Rev. Henry W. Fancher, minister from Minter, Ala., blasted the indifference to the threat of integration by Southern clergymen.

"God almighty enacted the law of segregation and He was the original practitioner of segregation," Dr. Fancher declared. "He made men black because He wanted them black and He wanted them to stay that way."

Other speakers included Curt Copeland and Amis Guthridge, both of Arkansas.



PRO-SOUTHERNERS rally at Ellis Auditorium, Memphis, to hear Senator Jim Johnson, director of the White Citizens Council of Arkansas. Shown above is the size of the Audience which totaled more than 2,000 but was estimated at 800 by the Memphis Commercial Appeal. Below is Senator Johnson speaking at the Pro-Southerners rally. Johnson urged the Memphis group to join hands with other similar pro-segregation groups to promote a solid front against the attempts to destroy Southern traditions.

EDITORIAL . . .

BE SURE TO SIGN JOHNSON AMENDMENT

A move to circumvent the rising tide of public approval of the Johnson Segregation Amendment has been instigated by Governor Awful Faubus. The move has the apparent intent to preserve segregation in public schools. However, under close examination it becomes evident that the move has been made merely to muddy the water and to cloud the issues. Awful Faubus has not changed his position. He is still for gradual integration.

According to the state press, the governor will seek to place two initiated acts on the November general election ballot. One of the proposed bills "will concern interposition". The other is for a pupil assignment bill.

During his campaign for governor, Faubus said in a television speech that he was "concerned" with gambling, and would close gambling in Hot Springs. Gambling is running wide open in Hot Springs. This is a good yardstick for the governor's definition of being "concerned".

As for the pupil assignment plan, which Faubus and his 5-man educational advisory committee are now asking the people to vote on, this is the same bill Faubus personally killed in the last General Assembly.

Interposition, in the opinion of Faubus and his committee, is an approach to gradual integration. Interposition without nullification is futile and meaningless. The Johnson Segregation Amendment requires that elected officials enforce the provisions of interposition to the logical end of nullification.

The Johnson Segregation Amendment has been viciously opposed by the governor and the NAACP. Efforts have been made by Faubus to block the Johnson Amendment, as indicated by orders to state employes not to sign the petitions. So now he finds it necessary to attempt to confuse the people by introducing two more petitions.

The Johnson Amendment will require the governor, whoever he may be at any time, to do the things asked in the proposed initiated acts.

The purpose behind the Johnson Amendment is to force elected officials to act. We have segregation laws on the books which Faubus has repeatedly refused to enforce at Fayetteville, Charleston and at Hoxie. He has permitted integration of intra-state trains and busses, contrary to Arkansas segregation laws.

We have no doubt of securing ample names on petitions for the Johnson Amendment. The adoption of any act, other than the Johnson Amendment—which forces elected officials to act—will be meaningless so long as the NAACP controls the governor's office in Arkansas.

HOXIE VICTORY

The significance of the victory by Herbert Brewer and Enos Nichols in the Hoxie school elections cannot be overestimated—nor can it be underestimated. Brewer and Nichols swept to clean victories over two integrationist candidates and now has the board lined up this way: two segregationists and three integrationists.

Last summer the Hoxie school board decided to integrate the negro and white students in formerly all-white schools. The reason listed by the board and former-Superintendent K. E. Vance was that the school was short of money. An official state audit later revealed a $3,500 shortage in the school's cash fund. Vance repaid $1,400 of this after the board wrote off the remainder as expenses Vance had incurred on "behalf of the school".

Vance resigned in the face of the audit report and the then pending criminal investigations by the grand jury.

The large vote (total: 789) indicates a growing interest in school district affairs in Arkansas. The previous school election drew less than 50 voters. Reports from Hoxie indicate that the school board ordered all school buses and vehicles to haul voters favorable to the bond issue and favorable to integration to the polls. Brewer and Nichols organized their own campaigns and won conclusive victories.

One indication of the Hoxie vote is this: citizens are not going to support an integrated school. In voting down the increased millage request, the Hoxie patrons made this plain.

Brewer, Nichols Win Posts on Hoxie Board

Two pro-Segregation candidates swept to a clean victory in the Hoxie school elections March 1. Winning two posts on the school board which ordered the previously all-White schools integrated and the pro-segregation candidates left no doubt about the feeling of the Hoxie citizens.

Herbert Brewer, chairman of the Hoxie Citizens Committee, defeated integrationist Herbert Green by a vote of 471 to 318. Brewer's running mate, Enos Nichols, beat integrationist Irwin Campbell by a vote of 478 to 299.

Brewer ran for the position formerly held by Leslie Howell, board president. Howell was instrumental in the decision to integrate the schools at Hoxie. He did not seek re-election.

Nichols will fill the vacancy of a board member who moved out of the district and was required to resign because he no longer was a resident of the district.

Three other integrationist board members were not up for re-election since the board members are elected for five year terms on a staggered basis.

Hoxie citizens have been in the midst of lengthy legal battles to try to remove the board members who integrated the schools. They secured the resignation of K. E. Vance, the superintendent who was cited by an official state audit with being responsible for a shortage of $3,500 in the school's cash funds. A grand jury refused to indict Vance.

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We earnestly solicit letters of expression from our membership. You may use a pen name or initials if you prefer, but we must have your name and address for our records.

(Continued from page 3)

commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes." So the nullification was actually without right, except it might be said that the second paragraph of the same section said that tariffs and imposts should be "uniform". However it should be admitted that this factual deviation would not justify nullification. Still it worked! The Congress promptly passed a bill alleviating South Carolina of the unfair and onerous tariff.

Q. What effect has the South Carolina episode had upon the public understanding of the subject of Interposition and Nullification?

A. It has caused great misunderstanding and disapprobations for the simple reason that for the many generations since that time, the history books used and taught in school never mentioned any other type or form of Interposition, and the true principle as taught by Jefferson and Madison and other great statesmen of early times was completely lost and forgotten. For example, the Encyclopedia Brittanica, under the title, "Nullification" mentions no other instance of such procedure in our history, and that is mentioned with disapproval. Brittanica does not mention the word "interposition" at all.

Few people know it but in 1833 the South Carolina incident had gained such unpopularity that Mississippi completely under the domination of Andrew Jackson, passed a strong resolution condemning Nullification. Jackson practically ruled Mississippi at that time so far as political affairs were concerned. However, Old Hickory was tempermental about the matter. When, in 1838, Georgia nullified the Supreme Court order halting the removal of the Cherokee Indians, Jackson made his famed remark: "Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it."

Q. From what has been said there is but one side to this controversy. Is there another side, or if not, to what do the proponents of Federal control of education and nurture of our children hold?

A. What comfort they have can only come from the 14th Amendment, a rather vague and indefinite pronouncement itself, enacted as a punitive measure after the Civil War when the South was prostrate. It is sometimes called the "shot gun amendment" for the reason that the validity of same must rely upon the ratification of at least some of the Southern States, all of which were helpless and under Federal military control. Governor Coleman of Mississippi contends that it was never legally and validly adopted. He is undoubtedly backed up by historical data or he would not have made the assertion. No doubt the "due process of law" clause of the amendment, and "equal protection of the law" clause of the amendment are relied upon to sustain the proponents of Federal control of education and nurture of our children.

But the fact remains that the 14th Amendment was enacted more than eighty (80) years ago; the very Congress that enacted it set up separate schools in the District of Columbia for negroes and whites; a consistent course of action has ensued whereby for more than 80 years all parties to the compact have understood and treated the amendment as not having anything whatsoever to do with the Federal government taking over the education and nurture of the youth of the land; innumerable court decisions of the court itself have plainly adhered to this interpretation. In fact the education and nurture of the youth of the land was understood to be the prerogative of the states since the founding of the Republic some 165 years ago. After all, the States founded and created the Federal Government; they founded and adopted the Constitution itself, as well as all of the amendments thereto. What the states over a long course of action construe them to be, verily they are.

Q. Enumerate the instances of Interposition or Nullification in our history, with the results in each case?

A. (1) In 1792, an individual sued the State of Georgia, and against its vigorous protest, took judgment. Georgia nullified the Federal Court judgment against it, and passed an act through the House of Representatives that if the marshal tried to collect same, he would be hanged! The Congress rather hastily proposed the 11th amendment which prohibited suits against the States at the instance of individual suitors.

(2) Next came the nullification resolutions against the Alien and Sedition laws, which in the teeth of the constitutional prohibition against abridgment of free speech and a free press, levied heavy criminal penalties against anyone who dared criticize the government or any officer thereof. A delegation from Kentucky came to Jefferson and implored him to prepare a nullification resolution for Kentucky. Jefferson complied with the first Kentucky resolution of November 1798, the first classical exposition of the doctrine of Interposition and Nullification in this country. In December Madison followed suit with a similar resolution for Virginia. The Alien and Sedition laws expired in 1801 without any prosecution thereunder.

(3) In 1814, smarting under the restrictions imposed by the War of 1812, tremendously unpopular in New England, all of the New England States met in the Hartford Convention which enacted: a Nullification of the draft act of Congress to provide soldiers for the war; drew up resolutions of actual secession which were never put into effect.

(4) In 1823 the Creek Indians procured from the Federal Courts a judgment which would have prevented the State of Georgia from removing them from the State. Georgia promptly nullified the judgments and removed the Indians by force.

(5) In 1829, the State of Alabama, under similar circumstances, nullified the Federal courts, and removed from its territory the Creek Indians therein.

(6) In 1832, the State of South Carolina nullified an act of Congress levying an unfair and onerous tariff upon the products of the state. The nature and result of this act has been commented upon.

(7) In 1838, the Cherokee Indians violated a treaty whereby they would be removed from Georgia, and appealed to the Federal Courts. The Courts sustained them. Georgia nullified the act of the Courts and removed them by force. President Andrew Jackson sustained them this time and this is when he made his famous remark: "Marshall has rendered his judgment; now let him enforce it."

(8) In 1859, Wisconsin nullified the Fugitive Slave Act of the Congress and the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court. Nothing was done.

(9) Some thirteen other northern states joined Wisconsin in the nullification of these acts and decisions. Nothing was done.

(10) The Supreme Court of Iowa nullified and disregarded a Supreme Court decision relative to the disposition of public lands appropriated to the railroads for building lines across the state. Nothing was done.

(11) On January 20, 1956, the Legislature of the State of Alabama nullified the Supreme Court decisions of May 17, 1954, the import of which was to forcibly mix in the schools of that state members of the white and negro race. Result: dependent only upon courage and unified action of the people of Alabama.

Q. Has there ever been any other occasion of Interposition or Nullification comparable in importance to the Nullification of the school decisions of May 17, 1954?

A. No. It is the last ditch stand to preserve Constitutional government in this country, and turn back the forces of the tyranny of centralized government and the minions of socialism and communism.

Q. It has been declared that even if the Congress did set in motion what is called "Constitutional processes" to settle the question of who is right about the matter, and pursuant thereto three fourths of the States did ratify an amendment which granted to the Federal Government the exclusive right to manage and control the education and nurture of our youth, the people of Mississippi would not accept it. That poses a grave question. Discuss it further.

A. It does indeed pose a very grave question. You note it was said the "people" of Mississippi. As Senator Eastland has pointed out, this school decision is impossible of performance. It shocks the sensibilities of all of the people. The revulsion is too great to be overcome. It runs counter to universal laws of nature that man-made laws can not control.

In the next place, while unbridled and salacious attacks upon the Supreme Court have no place in a dignified discussion among responsible men, still there is a deep-seated conviction among the people that this decision, coupled with other and numerous acts and predilections, shows a studied intention to change the form of this government. It should be conceded that the Fifth Article of the Constitution was never intended as a vehicle for accomplishing this purpose.

Q. Why would the constitutional amendments abolishing public schools, with pupil subsidizing funds, accomplish nothing? Comment further.

A. The Supreme Court will strike it down. Few people realize that the Civil Rights mania has spread so far that three states have already passed laws providing that even private schools will have to admit negroes, that is except certain religious and denominational schools.

Q. What does Interposition or Nullification have to do with Secession?

A. Nothing. The two principles are actually diametrically opposed. Secession talk would be pure madness at any time, and especially now when our existence is threatened and a division would spell certain ruin.

Q. If the general or Federal Government has absolute power through construction of the Constitution by court decree, as many seem to think it has, what is the need for having the amending machinery of the Constitution, that is Article V?

A. None at all. Calhoun sensed this when he said: "Without it (Interposition), the amending power must become obsolete, and the Constitution, through the power of construction, in the end utterly subverted."

Race Mixing At Fort McClellan . . .

White WACS and Negro Soldiers Thrown Together

Most of the Nation, including the South, sat quietly by when General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, issued his infamous direction to Army commanders ordering them to integrate negro and White service personnel on all levels.

What rumbling there was among the service personnel was quickly muffled by tight Army censorship. Army Public Information officers received additional directives to "play negro soldiers in a favorable light" following the disaster of the Puerto Rico troops mass desertion under fire in Korea. These troops were devoid of all racial pride because they all ranged in color from khaki tan to ebony.

And now comes news from Fort McClellan, Alabama, in the heart of the Deep South. Under the cover of harsh Army censorship and propaganda little news has seeped past the reservation gates but the tid-bits of information reaching Southern ears at nearby Anniston, Alabama, is shocking beyond belief. The pictures shown with this story document what is happening at Fort McClellan.

Beyond the iron curtain of Army consorship at Fort McClellan one can hear the screaming wail of be-bop trumpets, wild negro jazz music and the throbbing drone of jungle trumpets. Inside the Service Clubs one can see negro soldiers dancing, kissing and necking the White WACs.

Here is the awful truth about Fort McClellan:

Several months ago the Army relocated some 13,000 WACs at Fort McClellan. Shortly after the women soldiers (the great majority of them White) arrived, the Army then shipped in 3,000 negro soldiers. At first all social functions on the post were on the segregated basis. But then came a visit to the post by Adam Clayton Powell, the pro-Communist negro Congressman from New York. Powell saw the segregated social activities and beefed about what he saw to President Eisenhower. Shortly thereafter, the Special Services Officer at Fort McClellan received sealed orders from the White House to integrate all social functions at McClellan.

At these race-mixed (White girls and negro soldiers) parties supervised under Army orders with official sanction, the White women soldiers drink heavily of alcoholic beverages, dance to sex-stirring, heavy-handed negro jazz music; as the night grows late, morals relax until the women are accorded no visible respect.

The seriousness of this situation should be brought to the attention of Southern Congressmen and a full scale investigation should be undertaken. The cold light of truth should be flashed upon the sinister designs behind the "race-mixing" Army orders at Fort McClellan. Write your Congressman now and demand that he lift his voice in protest against this scandal at Fort McClellan.

NEGRO SOLDIERS are shown here fondling and kissing White WACs at Fort McClellan, Ala. The boy in the middle plants a juicy kiss on the mouth of one of the girls while boy at right awaits his turn. Some 12,000 WACs are stationed along with 3,000 negro soldiers at the Army post. At first all social functions were segregated, but the Special Services officer was ordered to hold mixed dances at the Service Clubs.

WHITE WAC is shown here dancing with negro soldier at Fort McClellan Service Club. The Army moved 3,000 negro soldiers into the Army camp with the 12,000 WACs already stationed there.

SITTING ONE OUT.—This White WAC holds hands with a negro soldier at a race-mixing dance held at the Service Club at Fort McClellan, Ala. The Army attempts to keep the mixed parties quiet but disturbed Alabamans plan to do something about the activity shown in these pictures.

SENATOR JIM JOHNSON tells England Rally that there is something Arkansas and the South can do about preserving segregation. Johnson outlined the program of the pro-segregation forces in Arkansas and the South. He explained the proposed amendment to the Arkansas Constitution which he drafted and has presented to the people for their approval. Johnson received two standing ovations by the cheering crowd at the England high school gym.

England Rally Sets Pace For Segregation Speedup

STANDING OVATION GREETS PLEDGE TO SUPPORT JOHNSON AMENDMENT

Segregation forces in Arkansas gathered 2,000 strong at a rally held in the England gym on February 24 and heard a battery of Southern leaders call for full support of the Johnson Amendment.

Speakers included Former Governor Ben Laney, who served as master of ceremonies; Jim Johnson, author of the Johnson Amendment and director of the White Citizens Council of Arkansas; Bob Patterson, executive secretary of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi; Roy V. Harris, publisher of the Augusta (Ga.) Courier and a former state senator; and Amis Guthridge, executive secretary of White America, Inc.

Setting the pace for the meeting, Governor Laney told the group of the Southern revolt of 1950 which stopped threatened Federal Civil Rights legislation. The former governor was one of the leaders of the Southern Revolt.

Governor Laney told the cheering crowd that now is the time for the South to unify in an all-out effort to oppose the usurpation of ungranted powers by agencies of the Federal Government. Laney said the problem would have to be attacked legally and politically.

"We have had some sanctimonious politicians in Arkansas, Laney said. He continued after being interrupted by applause:

"The politicians couldn't open their mouths on this issue before. After a few more meetings like this one, they will reconsider."

The former governor assailed what he called the "weak attempt by integration forces to put their argument on religious basis."

When Governor Laney introduced Jim Johnson, a spontaneous standing ovation rocked the England gym.

Johnson explained the legal aspects of the pro-segregation opposition to the illegal decisions by the U. S. Supreme Court. He declared the Court, in making the desegregation decisions, has usurped ungranted powers and had violated the oath of office the Justices made to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

Senator Johnson said the decisions were politically motivated and they

ATTORNEY AMIS GUTHRIDGE (standing) introduced a resolution at the England rally which pledged full support of the Johnson Amendment. He asked the delegation to pledge full support behind a move to get 300,000 signers on the Johnson amendment petitions. Guthridge's resolution was approved by a standing ovation from the 2,000 persons present. Guthridge is executive secretary of White America, Inc. L. D. Poynter, Pine Bluff, is president.

GOVERNOR BEN LANEY took the "I told you so" line of thought which ran through his serious (and many times humorous) comments which were interspersed between speeches by other pro-sgregation leaders. The former governor of Arkansas was a leader of the Southern revolt of 1948 and he opposed Socialist Sid McMath who was seeking re-election to a second term as governor in 1950. The Southern statesman was master of ceremonies at the England rally.

must be opposed by every legal and political means open to a free people.

"If we fail to assert the sovereignty of our State at this time," Johnson declared, "we are not worthy of the freedom and protection of the Constitution."

Johnson explained the proposed amendment, the Johnson Amendment, which says the General Assembly shall interpose the sovereignty of the State of Arkansas and nullify these decisions by the Supreme Court.

The former state senator from Crossett said the pro-segregation movement was not based upon hate. Johnson cited a statement by Vice President Richard Nixon in which Nixon declared that 'a great Republican Chief Justice" led the Supreme Court in its desegregation rulings.

Amis Guthridge then introduced his resolution supporting the Johnson Amendment. Guthridge said the amendment was "the finest piece of work yet to come out of the pro-segregation movement in Arkansas or anywhere else in the South.

After calling for adoption of a resolution which expressed support of efforts to get 300,000 signers to the amendment petitions, Guthridge asked for approval. The delegation rose to its feet and Governor Laney asked them to remain standing if they approved the resolution and the Johnson Amendment. All remained standing and the master of ceremonies declared the resolution carried.

Mississippi's Bob Patterson followed Guthridge to the speaker's stand. Patterson predicted that the "infamous Black Monday decisions" of the Supreme Court will "never be carried out in the South."

"How can we conquer and destroy this monster of integration?" Patterson asked. He said there was a feeling that newspapers expressed public sentiment and remarked that "the newspapers do not attempt to express the opinions of the people but they do attempt to mold public sentiment."

Patterson's remarks about the press were obviously directed at the pro-integration policies of the Arkansas Gazette. His remarks were met with approval from the assembly which demonstrated an obvious disapproval of the Gazette's pro-negro news slanting.

Georgia Publisher Roy Harris wound up the meeting with a witty, yet determined summation of the problems forced upon the South by the Supreme Court's Black Monday decision, and subsequent decisions which implement the Black Monday rule.

"I think you folks," Harris grinned, "can forget about these pussyfooting politicians. When the grassroots movement of the people gets in full swing you can bet your bottom dollar the politicians will be there to 'lead' the people."

This remark, directed at Orval Faubus of Arkansas and Nigger Jim Folsom of Alabama, brought a round of laughter.

Harris said he could justly boast of his home state of Georgia.

"We've done all there is to do. Somebody would suggest a law. We'd adopt it. Somebody would suggest another. And if anybody has any more ideas, let us know and we'll adopt them too."

Georgia is the home state of a number of Southern statesmen. These include Governor Marvin Griffin and Attorney General Eugene Cook. Cook has come to the aid of Hoxie school patrons in their fight against mixed schools while Arkansas' attorney general and governor have refused them aid.

Harris explained that Georgia was one of the first states to ever use the doctrine of interposition and Georgia was one of the first to interpose in the case of the recent Supreme Court decisions.

MISSISSIPPI LEADER BOB PATTERSON, executive secretary of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, urged the people of Arkansas to get behind the Johnson Amendment. He called the Johnson Amendment "one of the strongest moves yet made to preserve segregation".

South Closes Ranks on Race Issue

Congress Bloc Seeks Reversal of Court Decision

With ears tuned to the folks back home, Southern members of Congress were 101 strong in signing the Southern Declaration of Constitutional Principles. (The text of the Declaration appears below.

Spurred into action by the grass roots movement in every Southern State, the Congressmen and Senators from the South have taken the pro-segregation movement to a new sphere. Their aim is outright reversal of the Supreme Court's decisions of May 1, 1954 and May 31, 1955. The methods at their disposal include filibuster, pressure and all legal means.

With this action by the Southern lawmakers comes the strong probability that the South will win a reversal of the Court's political decisions. These lawmakers have gone on record and have served notice that they will oppose any move designed for use of Federal force to implement the integration orders of Federal courts.

This move by the Southern lawmakers reaffirms the basic belief that the Constitution is the fundamental law of the land. It also serves notice that the South takes the position outlined by U. S. Senator James O. Eastland the day after the decision was rendered in 1954. Eastland declared that the South is not "morally or legally obligated" to obey the decision of the Court in this case.

It is noteworthy that 11 Southern States were represented by signers to what the press has dubbed the "Southern Manifesto". Signers were from Arkansas, Texas, Alabama, Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and some from Tennessee. Both Senators from Tennessee, with their eye cast on possible National offices, refused to sign. Senator Gore is spinning his wheels trying to get the Democratic vice-presidential nomination and Senator Kefauver is an announced candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The position held by Southern lawmakers in the National Congress is not to be taken lightly by any administration in power. With a Democratic majority in both houses, Southerners head all the major committees in both houses. With a Republican majority in both houses, these same Southerners hold powerful position as minority leader on those same key committees. In short, the Southerners could tie up all legislation and force a stalemate in the Government if such proves to be needed to make the Supreme Court don judicial robes and discard their caps and gowns of sociology professors.

This action by the Southern lawmakers also places the President in a position where he would be foolish to attempt to implement the Court's decree by executive orders.. The lawmakers have served notice that they will help the folks back home keep a segregated way of life. The only danger for the folks back home is the degree of sincerity on the part of some of the signers of the Declaration. If the signers put their John Henry on the Declaration purely out of political expediency in an election year, then the home folks had best get double assurance from the lawmakers this summer and fall. Some might have a change of heart day after election.

The Declaration brought additional idiotic mouthings from Governor Awful Faubus. The distinguished alumnus of Commonwealth College parried reporters' questions about what he thought of the Declaration. He failed to answer the questions put to him by reporters but did manage to say that he would have signed had he been a member of Congress.

Faubus, who has been busy as a cat on a hot tin roof dodging the segregation issue, has yet to clarify his position on the most burning issue of our day. His stand is the same as that of the pro-negro Arkansas Gazette. This position is going by a new name: moderation. That is to say, give the South time and they will swallow the bitter pill of mongrelization. The Commonwealth alumnus has declared that he is against "complete integration at this time." What the people of Arkansas want is a governor who will be for complete segregation at ALL times.

JOIN YOUR WHITE NEIGHBORS IN THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL

Southern Leaders State Their Principles

Following is full text of a "Declaration of Constitutional Principles" signed by a group of Senators and Representatives from Southern States:

The unwarranted decision of the Supreme Court in the public-school cases is now bearing the fruit always produced when men substitute naked power for established law.

The Founding Fathers gave us a Constitution of checks and balances because they realized the inescapable lesson of history that no man or group of men can be safely entrusted with unlimited power. They framed this Constitution with its provisions for change by amendment in order to secure the fundamentals of government against the dangers of temporary popular passion or the personal predilections of public officeholders.

We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the federal judiciary undertaking to legislate, in derogation of the authority of Congress, and to encroach upon the reserved rights of the States and the people.

The original Constitution does not mention education. Neither does the Fourteenth Amendment nor any other amendment. The debates preceding the submission of the Fourteenth Amendment clearly show that there was no intent that it should affect the systems of education maintained by the States.

The very Congress which proposed the Amendment subsequently provided for segregated schools in the District of Columbia.

When the Amendment was adopted in 1868, there were 37 States of the union. Every one of the 26 States that had any substantial racial differences among its people either approved the operation of segregated schools already in existence or subsequently established such schools by action of the same lawmaking body which considered the Fourteenth Amendment.

As admitted by the Supreme Court in the public-school case (Brown v. Board of Education), the doctrine of separate but equal schools "apparently originated in Roberts v. City of Boston . . . (1840), upholding school segregation against attack as being violative of a State constitutional guarantee of equality." This constitutional doctrine began in the North—not in the South—and it was followed not only in Massachusetts, but in Connecticut, New York, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and other Northern States until they, exercising their rights as States through the constitutional processes of local self-government, changed their school systems.

In the case of Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896, the Supreme Court expressly declared that under the Fourteenth Amendment no person was denied any of his rights if the States provided separate but equal public facilities. This decision has been followed in many other cases. It is notable that the Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Taft, a former President of the United States, unanimously declared in 1927 in Lum v. Rice that the "separate but equal" principle is ". . . within the discretion of the State in regulating its public schools and does not conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment."

This interpretation, restated time and again, became a part of the life of the people of many of the States and confirmed their habits, customs, traditions and way of life. It is founded on elemental humanity and common sense, for parents should not be deprived by government of the right to direct the lives and education of their own children.

Though there has been no constitutional amendment or act of Congress changing this established legal principle almost a century old, the Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land.

This unwarranted exercise of power by the Court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the States principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

Without regard to the consent of the governed, outside agitators are threatening immediate and revolutionary changes in our public-school systems. If done, this is certain to destroy the system of public education in some of the States.

With the gravest concern for the explosive and dangerous condition created by this decision and inflamed by outside meddlers:

- We reaffirm our reliance on the Constitution as the fundamental law of the land.
- We decry the Supreme Court's encroachments on rights reserved to the States and to the people, contrary to established law and to the Constitution.
- We commend the motives of those States which have declared the intention to resist forced integration by any lawful means.
- We appeal to the States and people who are not directly affected by these decisions to consider the constitutional principles involved against the time when they too, on issues vital to them, may be the victims of judicial encroachment.
- Even though we constitute a minority in the present Congress, we have full faith that a majority of the American people believe in the dual system of government which has enabled us to achieve our greatness and will in time demand that the reserved rights of the States and of the people be made secure against judicial usurpation.
- We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.
- In this trying period, as we all seek to right this wrong, we appeal to our people not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers invading our States, and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts.

NOW A MODERATE

LEFTWINGER ASHMORE, editor of the Arkansas Gazette, took the news of the Southern Declaration of Principles with the usual disdain. Ashmore is now on leave of absence from the Gazette and is working with the ADA and Adlai Stevenson. A darling of the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic, Ashmore is being proven a liar more and more as the South girds up her loins for opposition to the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings. Ashmore did more than anyone else to convince the Court that the South would not oppose an integration ruling. His editorials, his books, and his pro-Communist mouthings have been directed toward a possible Russian "hero's" medal for his unsuccessful efforts to deliver Arkansas to the NAACP. The policy of the Gazette has seen some change (not much for the better) since Ashmore has removed himself from the Wonder State. The Gazette, long an advocat of race-mixing and "inter-racial gatherings", now has adopted a policy of "moderation". Calling for the NAACP to quit pushing in Arkansas, the Gazette is saying that the NAACP should give Arkansas time and "we will integrate slowly".

Eyes Of The South Are On Arkansas

By JIM JOHNSON

There is no question but that Constitutional law is on the side of the South in our efforts to defeat attempts to detsroy our traditions and our segregated way of life. This is being demonstrated every day by the constant change in tactics by our enemies in the North and the South.

Several months ago the line of thinking put out by the Northern press (and some members of the Southern press) was this: The Court has spoken and there is nothing the South can do but to obey.

Immediately after the Black Monday decision by the Supreme Court, Senator James O. Eastland said the South was not obligated legally or morally to obey the decision. The desegregation decisions were not based upon the Constitution but upon a new and untried theory of sociology. The Court said in effect that the past decisions favoring the South was not bad law but bad sociology.

Congressman John Bell Williams said in a speech at Fort Worth recently: "The Justices of the Supreme Court have shed the robes of judicial dignity and donned the caps and gowns of sociology professors."

We know the Constitution is on our side. The Tenth Amendment specifies this.

But now comes a reversal in tactics by our enemies.

Arkansas' governor is hiding behind an old word with a new meaning. That word is "moderation". The governor said he is opposed to "immediate integration at this time." The Arkansas Gazette is reflecting the Northern press when it repeatedly calls for "moderation".

Moderation is a good word. There is nothing wrong with moderation. But there is danger contained in the meaning implied by the Gazette's use of the word. Moderation by the governor and the Gazette (their minds are as one) means gradual integration. These moderationists are saying to the Citizens Councils: "You are extremists." And these same moderationists are saying to the NAACP: "Go slow. You have won in the courts. Do not press your luck too fast and too far. Take it easy and the South will soon come to accept the gradual process of integration."

The South will never accept integration, be it immediate or gradual. And the moderationist is just as much an enemy of the South as is the NAACP and the Communists who demand the same things the NAACP demands: complete and destructive mongrelization of the last stronghold

of White Christian Civilization in America.

I say to all of you: Don't be lulled to sleep by this insidious propaganda move. Don't let our enemies spoonfeed the South on the bitter pill of gradualism now that they have found that immediate integration has been halted.

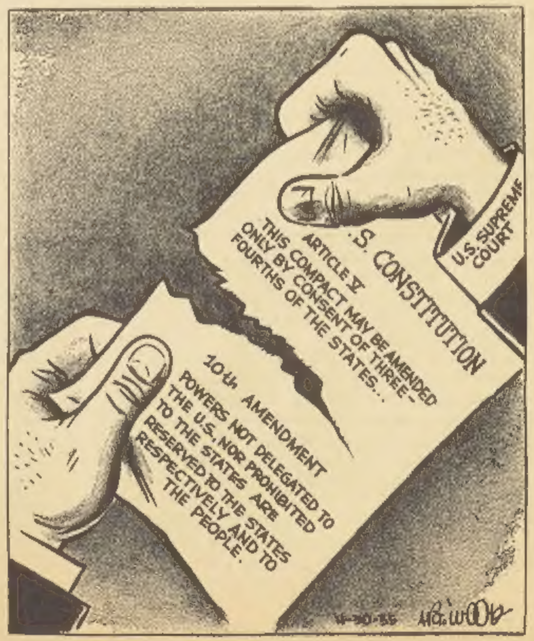
I want to take this opportunity to thank all the wonderful people in Arkansas who have worked so hard to get petitions for the Johnson Amendment signed. These petitions are being returned to us daily. Our work is not complete. There is still much work to be done. Our goal is to get 300,000 signers to the petitions.

We have begun to hold community meetings again. In a recent 14-day period we have held 12 meetings in county seat towns. And we have many others scheduled. If you want to hear our program, let us know. Because of the heavy demand upon our time we would like to have optional dates and then we can confirm a specific date for a meeting.

On a recent tour of Southern states, I was gratified to learn of the growing strength of Southern opposition to the Supreme Court's decision. We made a series of speeches in Alabama recently and the welcome we received there warmed our hearts and gave us new courage and strength.

On March 1 we attended a meeting of the Fort Worth Citizens Council and heard wonderful talks by Congressman Williams of Mississippi and Congressman Jack Flynt of Georgia. Senator Eastland was scheduled to appear at the meeting but was tied up on the Senate floor in a debate on the pending farm bill.

The South is on the way to victory and we must win our cause in Arkansas. The eyes of the South are on Arkansas. Don't forget that.



IS SEGREGATION UNCHRISTIAN?

By DR. J. E. FLOW
Concord, N. C.

I believe in segregation and am not at all disturbed by anything they may call me and others who share my views.

Segregation was decreed by God Himself in one historical instance. God called Abraham out of Ur of the Chaldees, to go into a land which he should afterwards receive as an inheritance. The Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob lived in that land for many years, Jacob's clan, because of famine went down into Egypt and were settled in the land of Goshen, where they remained 400 years. Then God sent Moses to lead the tribes of Israel out of Egypt into the wilderness for 40 years, and Joshua led them into the land of Canaan, where the various tribes were settled. For fifteen hundred years till the birth of Christ they were a segregated nation. They were forbidden by God to mingle socially, to inter-marry or to amalgamate with the nations around them. They did not always obey God but nevertheless God commanded it and many times punished them when they disobeyed His command. If allowed to mingle socially with each other the inevitable result would be amlagamation, either with or without marriage.

Out of that segregated nation, through inspired prophets from time to time, from Moses to Malachi, came the revealed will of God in the Old Testament. Out of that segregated nation, came the Saviour of the World, and the New Testament which tells us of Him. Does anyone dare to say that God made a mistake in segregating the Jewish nation? Does anyone dare to say that segregation is wrong and un-Christian when the Almighty Himself did it? The only God we know or care to know, is the God revealed in the Scriptures, and he never makes a mistake and never does wrong. "He is glorious in holiness, fearful in praises doing wonders."

I believe in segregation for three reasons:

1. In the first place I believe that segregation is in harmony with the plan and purpose of the Almighty Himself, as the best means to prevent amalgamation of the races. He used it in the case of his chosen people, Israel.

Let us face some stubborn facts: We have three most distinct races of men distinguished by the color of their faces, the yellow man, the black man, and the white man. Who made one man's face yellow, one black, and another white? That question is not hard to answer, for there is only one being in the universe that could do such a thing, and He is the Almighty, the Creator of all things. But why did he do it? He has not told us except in general terms. In Rev. 4:10-11, we read, "The four and twenty elders fall down before Him that sat on the throne, and worship Him that liveth forever and ever and cast their crowns before the throne, saying, 'Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory and honor and power; for Thou has created all things and for Thy pleasure they are and were created'." The only reason we are given is that it pleased God. In the early creation of the world we are told, "He spake and it was done, He commanded and it stood fast."

Sometimes in the centuries that followed, the yellow man was found in China, the black man in Africa, and the white man in Europe. Paul said to the Athenians: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation." Our God, the God of all wisdom, has never admitted that He ever made a mistake, in this or in any othre instance. And certainly has not authorized any men to correct His 'mistakes", or to improve on His plan. In Latin America they tried to improve on God's plan, but did they? The Spanish and Portuguese conquerors amalgamated freely with the native Indians, then they imported Negro slaves from Africa, and became amalgamated with them, so there is no color line and no segregation south of the Rio Grande. But do they have a higher stage of Christian civilization than the people of the U. S. and Canada? How does their missionary zeal in foreign lands compare with ours? I would advise all those who can't stand segregation, to go to the Rio Grande River and buy a one way ticket and they will never be troubled any more with it. God made one man's face yellow, another black, and another white because it pleased Him to do so and He means for them to remain that way. It is presumptuous for any man to think that he can improve on God's plan.

2. In the second plance I believe in segregation because it is not only in the plan of God but it is in harmony with a well known law of nature, stated in the proverb, "Birds of a feather will flock together." Sparrows will not flock with robbins, neither will ducks migrate with geese.

The Chinaman feels happier and more at liberty with his own people in his own churches, schools and communities than he does mingling with other people whose tastes and habits are different from his. The Negro, if let alone by these ceaseless agitators, feels more at home and happier among his own people in church, school and communities than to be forced into mingling with other people who are not always congenial. I want the Negro to have as good school buildings and equipment as the white people have, but I will say that there is not a school house in this country, white or colored, that is not a far better house with far better equipment than I had sixty-five years ago. And with God's blessing I got an education.

I want to see the Negro live in good houses where he can be comfortable and self-respecting. O, but they are poor they say! Yes, but poverty is not confined to one race—there are many poor white people who have a hard time. As long as we have wars there will always be poverty and plenty of it.

3 In the third place I believe in race segregation because it contributes to the harmony and peace among the races. The Christian white man does not hate the Negro, but wants to help him in an understanding way, and does it. The Christian Negro does not hate the white man, but respects and honors the Christian white man as his best friend and is appreciative for any kindness that comes his way. It is the wicked white man and the wicked negro that hate each other and are ready to fly at each other's throat on little provocation. This is one reason why the Christian white man in the South wants race segregation, for the protection of the Negro. There never was a race riot that the Negro did not get the worst of it. We do not like race riots or any other form of murder. We like to have peace and good will among the races that are compelled to live together in the same land. This condition is not limited to the South, as some people with very short memories would have us believe, for there have been more race riots in the North than have been in the South. The slums of the Northern cities are worse than anything we have in the South.

I am advocating segregation not as a perfect solution to the vexatious race problem but only as a help. We do not meet the perfect solutions in this imperfect world. But as Christians we should be kind and helpful to all men. There is no occasion for pride in the study of this difficult question.

Paul in writing to the Corinthians, I Cor. 4-7, "For who maketh thee to differ from another? And what hast thou that thou didst not receive? And if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?" You and I have no choice as to the color of our faces or the land of our birth. This ought to make all of us humble and thankful to God, and very charitable and kind to our fellow men.

Gazette Polls Negro Voters In State . . . .

Another insidious propaganda campaign is in the mill in the form of a poll being conducted under the auspices of the Arkansas Gazette. This came to our attention when we received a letter from a White man who was asked to read the postal card received by a negro. The postal card is shown here.

A close check reveals that the postal cards were sent to negro voters only. Apparently the Gazette is trying to determine whom among the four "candidates" for governor would be most acceptable to the negro voter. The "candidates" listed are Awful Faubus, Chris Finkbeiner, Teacup Gentry, and Bill Ingram.

Apparently the results of the poll of negro voters will help the Gazette make up its mind which of the men above mentioned would be most acceptable to the negro and to the Gazette. You can expect a big propaganda campaign about the middle of April saying that the "voters" approved overwhelmingly one of the men mentioned above. The Gazette will very carefully credit the "poll" to some source other than itself. The "poll" cards are being mailed from many points in the state and the mailing list seems to be the poll book with a "C" marked by the voter's name, indicating the voter is negro.

Reports reaching us also indicate that the NAACP is helping compile the list of voters to receive the postal card.

The Gazette has attended a number of meetings sponsored by the White Citizens Council of Arkansas and White America, Inc. At these meetings it has been made very plain that Awful Faubus is not favored by White voters in Arkansas. Teacup Gentry has proven he is in the hire of the NAACP. Nobody has ever heard of Cheesedog Finkbeiner except a few television viewers in the Little Rock area. All that is known of Finkbeiner is that he is a meat packer and a member of the Urban League.

Bill Ingram is a fine fellow and he comes from an area where his home folks would disown him if they caught him talking business with the NAACP. Ingram built the dog track at West Memphis.

The poll is obviously a popularity contest between Faubus and Gentry among the negro voters. It will be interesting to see the results of this poll and to see how the Gazette will react to the results.

The only puzzling thing about the poll is that it failed to list Leftwinger Harry Ashmore, a Gazette editor, among the list of "candidates". But Harry is busy with Adlai Stevenson and the ADA.

Dear Arkansas Voter:

We are conducting a state-wide public opinion poll in Arkansas in order to determine, if possible, the reaction of Arkansas voters to certain potential gubernatorial candidates for 1956.

We solicit your reply which can be sent in on the enclosed addressed and postage paid reply card. All replies are strictly confidential. You are asked not to sign your name or identify yourself in any manner.

Your cooperation in this matter will be greatly appreciated.

- -

If the following men were to run for Governor of the State of Arkansas in 1956 in the Democratic primaries, for whom would you cast your vote?

Please check one:
- Orval Faubus ☐
- Chris Finkbeiner ☐
- Tom Gentry ☐
- Wm. A. (Bill) Ingram ☐

Did you vote in the Democratic primaries in 1954? Yes ☐ No ☐

Do you plan to vote in the Democratic primaries in 1956? Yes ☐ No ☐

Please do not sign this card or identify yourself in any manner.

Thanks very much.

IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION . . .

By CURT COPELAND

It perhaps would surprise some of our apathetic friends to study the identity of the persons behind the efforts to "divide and conquer" this Republic from within. They would learn that the very same names that appear on all lists of "officers and life-members" of the NAACP are also prominent on the opponents of the McCarran-Walters Immigration Act.

Almost without exception these very same names appear on all lists of "distinguished names" as members of subversive groups and pro-communist outfits.

Their nefarious plans to create strife in the South between White people and their colored neighbors goes hand in glove with their move to remove all restrictions on immigration, by "improving" the McCarran-Walters Act.

Although the founders of this Nation and the framers of the Constitution never intended that any law-making power should rest in the President or the Supreme Court, they never supposed that the character of Congress would ever deteriorate to such extent that Congress would stand supinely by and watch a president declare war, insult the states, or commit this country to a "membership" in a "one-world" organization, or reject God in the operation of it.

It is no surprise to learn that an organization strong enough to force a political decision through the Supreme Court concerning the public schools, could also push through "must" legislation to "welcome" into our midst a wave of foreign filth that no other nation wants and the devil wouldn't have.

Since the beginning of this great Republic, and until Roosevelt violated all laws of immigration, with HIS displaced persons regulations, it has been generally accept by all, that if America is to be preserved for AMERICANS, we must be defended from the admittance of undesirables.

The American Congress has been supreme in the right and duty to determine what sort of immigrants were desired or would be admitted. Thinking members of Congress have ever realized that if the American way of life were to be preserved for Americans, and that an absolutely free immigration were unthinkable, have imposed various restrictions upon immigration, many of which have grown obsolete and have been "amended" due to ever-changing conditions.

After Congress and the Nation had been treated to the spectacle of two Presidents' display of disregard for and contempt for the Constitution, it was decided to be imperative that the many obsolete and overlapping features of the "immigration code" should be eliminated by reducing the immigration law to a single statute.

To do this, a subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization of the Senate Judiciary Committee was set up under the Chairmanship of Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada.

Exhaustive studies, requiring almost three years were made, and suggestions from the Central Intelligence Agency, the Department of Justice, the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and more than 100 other proven PATRIOTIC organizations were included in the final draft which was passed by Congress, over the violent protests of the Displaced Persons Commission, the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, the National Lawyer Guild, the Daily Worker, Bishop Oxnam, Walter White, Senator Lehman, Alger Hiss, Hubert Humphreys, Dean Acheson, harry truman, and a few more known or suspected Commies.

Truman, to more emphatically express his contempt for Congress, vetoed the bill, and it was repassed over his veto.

A piece of legislation like an individual, should be judged by its enemies, as well as its friends, and the above mentioned line-up speaks for itself. The enemies of the bill scream to high heaven that the bill is "discrimnatory". The AMERICAN proponents reply that the Nation should enjoy the same prerogatives as those enjoyed in an individual and exercise the right to be selective and discriminatory as to whom we shall invite INTO OUR HOMES.

Although the bill as passed, contains more than 120 pages, it breaks down to the setting up of basic standards which must be met by persons seeking to enter this Country.

In brief, they are: "No Communist shall be allowed to enter the United States; no criminal shall be allowed to enter the United States; no degenerate shall be allowed to enter the United States."

It re-establishes the "quota system" under which we have SUPPOSEDLY operated since 1920, and it speaks little for the patriotism of either Congress or the President, that this Bill which was passed over the veto of the Missouri Pink should be gutted, in a last minute "must" action, to open the flood gates to a wave of unscreened trash of whom, you may be sure many will be Communist agents who will have no desire nor intention of acquiring "citizenship". They will only be expected to act as helpers for the thousands of Communist agents that we have INVITED to "reside" in the United States, with "diplomatic immunity" from ANY of our laws, in the positions with United Nations set-up

Since there is no mention of "religious restriction" in the McCarran Act, it would seem strange that some of the great "leaders" of the Protestant Ministry would have opposed it by screaming their heads off about "religious discrimination", except that it is noticeable that the very same ones who appeared to favor this latest effort to scuttle the Act are the very same ones who walked in picket lines to protest the execution of the Rosenbergs, protested the conviction of the top 11 Communist leaders in America, decried the conviction of Alger Hiss, and ignored the omission of God and Christ, whose principles they claim to espouse, in the United Nations, which they loudly acclaim as a "great agency of humantarian brotherhood".

When McCarran, McClellan, McCarthy, Taft and other Congressmen of PROVEN LOYALTY supported the passage of the McCarran Act, the enemies of America set up the familiar chant of "isolationism". Any public servant who will indicate by his action that he is not ashamed to proclaim himself proud of the fact that he is an American, and that he is interested in the welfare of America FIRST, instead of LAST; is immediately attacked as an enemy of the "international brotherhood of Nations".

Senator Lehman of New York, with his unsavory record for Ameircanism, cries like a pig under a gate that it is "isolationism", and intolerable that a restriction should be placed in a Naturalization Act which would invoke a penalty of "loss of Citizenship" upon any naturalized person who would refuse to testify before a Congressional Investigating Committee concerning their membership in subversive and un-American organizations.

This same "restriction" should be applied to everyone, natural born as

—Continued on next page

IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

(Continued from Page 17)

well as naturalized. Any citizen of America who will refuse, for any reason, to state whether or not he is a member of an organization which advocated the overthrow of the Government, should be given his choice—to be shot like the traitor he is, or deported to the country of his choice.

The McCarran Act would preserve the "National origin" quota, as it existed in 1920, and it would offer special inducement to scientists, scholars, professional men and other specialists who would tend to raise, rather than lower, our AMERICAN standard of living.

It would expedite rather than prevent the immigration of worthy European men of intelligence, who dignify labor. But it would play hell with the theory that America should forever be the dumping ground for foreign filth.

We have made American citizenship entirely too cheap. We permit every lousy creature that can stand on two legs to sway the sceptre of sovereignty to become an important factor in the formation of our policy. And then with this ignorant, venal vote on one hand, eager to be bought, and the bureaucrat on the other anxious to buy, we wonder why it is that trash such as Lehman and Marcantonio can be elected from locations notorious as dumping grounds for aliens, to go to Congress and do their damndest to further the aims of international socialism, by imposing the "one-world" ideaology, outlawing the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and eliminating the American traditions and principles of Government.

We carried the enchanting doctrine of "political equality" entirely too far and are paying the penalty. America must grade up or perish. Only superior intelligence is capable of self-government. Ignorance and tyranny go hand in hand. That the greater bust guide the lesser intelligence is nature's immutable law. To deny this is to question God's authority to reign as King of all mankind.

Self-preservation will compel us to guard the sacred privileges of American citizenship as jealously as Rome did hers and when we relax that vigilence, we will suffer the same end as the Roman Empire.

APPLICATION

White Citizens Council of Arkansas

I am a White Citizen of the United States of America.

I believe that God in His infinite wisdom would have created only one race had He wanted only one race in His world . . . .

I believe that the final authority should be vested in the people of Arkansas as to whether or not we integrate the races in the Arkansas schools or any other segment of Arkansas society . . . .

I do not subscribe to the Communist theory of "one world, one race" . . . .

I do not wish my child to marry a negro . . . .

I hereby express my desire to associate myself with my White neighbors in the WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL to oppose by any or all legal and Christian methods the invasion of my inherent rights as a white citizen of the State of Arkansas.

I desire to be kept informed of the progress being made by my white neighbors of the Southland in their efforts to maintain our traditional way of life, and I hereby subscribe for our paper—the ARKANSAS FAITH—for that purpose.

Realizing the tremendous expense which will of necessity be incurred in the publishing of this newspaper and of carrying this message to my white neighbors of Arkansas, and knowing that many of my white neighbors, regardless of how strongly their feelings are in favor of this cause, are financially unable to contribute to this cause in any amount, I hereby contribute the amount indicated below toward the expenses thereof.

Enclosed is $3 for subscription to the ARKANSAS FAITH; also I wish to contribute ☐ $5 ☐ $10 ☐ $25 ☐ $100

Name.....
(Please Print)

Address.....

Occupation.....

Telephone.....

Mail; ARKANSAS FAITH P.O. Box 107 Crossett, Ark.

The Nefarious Record Of NAACP

GIVE A MAN enough rope and he'll hang himself, goes the adage. If the so-called National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has not already done something like that, it is on the way. Southerners recently have seen first hand the wanton recklessness of this thoroughly irresponsible agitating outfit. There is hope that the nation at large ultimately will see its shabbiness.

NAACP's duplicity is etched in the record by its shameless conduct in the Autherine Lucy-Pollie Anner Myers Hudson affair. That the organization is in reality a National Association for Agitation is shown in official records revealing its bald deceit and heavyhanded disregard of truth and decency. Infamous, indeed, was NAACP's trifling with federal courts; it used them to smear responsible authorities and as a sounding board for fund-raising propaganda. Documented are these facts:

(1) It went loudly into federal court to force admission of one Pollie Anner Myers Hudson into the University of Alabama, knowing full well the woman was morally unfit, an associate of criminals. NAACP's pious wail for this immoral woman was publicized throughout the world. But when NAACP went to court its Alabama mouthpiece, attorney Arthur Shores, admitted in justice's sanctum that his case was totally without merit and begged it be thrown out.

(2) This self-same Shores promptly erupted in big black headlines denouncing, in the name of Autherine Lucy, University officials and trustees as conspirators and inciters-to-riot who should be imprisoned and forced to pay damages. He was joined in this propaganda blast by NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall. But when these two took their pawn into federal court, Marshall confessed deception: "after careful investigation we are unable to produce any evidence to support these allegations."

By admission of its own attorneys, NAACP made a mockery of justice. It used the courts to capture world headlines with charges of criminal conspiracy against honorable Alabamians. Meek admissions of bald-faced lies never quite catch up with the sensation-packed headlines of the original accusations.

After confessing in justice's name the falsity of these malicious, slanderous charges, a haughty and cunning Thurgood Marshall went to New York with the female hireling, bleating in self-righteous tones statements which professional anti-South agitators have used to such monetary advantage. Pawn Lucy, a paid agent, was used for full publicity and fund-raising value. Because of a biased national press, American readers might never know how NAACP misused the courts to slander and vilify.

It is time the nation waked up to NAACP's campaign of hate, distrust and division. This "advancement" organization has set back harmonious race relations in the South a generation. It has misled and deceived good negroes. It does not honestly represent nor accurately reflect the views of a majority of Southern negroes. NAACP's conduct, as witness recent outrages committed in Alabama, and records of its leaders are appalling. Alarming is the fact that NAACP has hoodwinked the national press into parroting the propaganda line that NAACP is the friend of the negro and the South is his enemy. This frightening fact brings joy to the Communists.

Records in Congress show that the *Daily Worker's* official report of the U.S. Communist Party's fourth national convention Aug. 21-30, 1925, said: "Even in this organization (NAACP), under present circumstances, it is permissible and necessary for selected Communists (not the party membership as a whole) to enter its conventions and to make proposals calculated to enlighten the negro masses under its influence as to the nature and necessity of the class struggle. . . ."

Rep. E. C. Gathings of Arkansas told Congress that of 177 NAACP officers, board members, executive staff members and other officials, 78, or 44.1 per cent, are cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The files of this committee reveal records of affiliation with or parts in communism, Communist-front, fellow traveling, or subversive organizations or activities by the following officials of NAACP: The president, the chairman of the board, the honorary chairman, 11 of 28 vice presidents, the treasurer, 28 of 47 directors, the chairman of the national legal committee, the executive secretary, the special counsel, the assistant special counsel, the Southeast national secretary, the West Coast secretary, the director of the Washington bureau, and director of public relations and two field secretaries.

Their records take up 41 pages of the *Congressional Record*. For example, Roy Wilkins, national administrator and executive secretary, is cited several times. One is a statement attributed to him by the Communist *Daily Worker* that he had voted for Benjamin J. Davis, negro Communist, at the 1948 election. Davis was among 11 top Communists convicted in 1949 for advocating overthrow of the government. Record of citations for Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, founder of NAACP, takes up nine typewritten pages single-spaced. President Arthur B. Spingarn and Treasurer Allan Knight Chalmers are cited three times each.

Thurgood Marshall himself is cited as once a member of National Committee of International Juridical Association, described by the special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front. Arthur Shores was cited as having been on the advisory board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, called a Communist front "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League, and later classified by the attorney general as subversive and among the affiliates and committees of the Communist Party.

South Carolina's Legislature has asked that the attorney general put NAACP on the subversive list. State of Louisiana has filed suit in federal court asking that NAACP be dissolved, basing its charges on an anti-Ku Klux Klan law. On its nefarious record alone, NAACP should be put to rout.


INTEGRATION
Johnson Amendment
"MODERATION"
Let's Sneak in this door befor they NAIL it shut.
FAUBUS
NAACP
GAZETTE